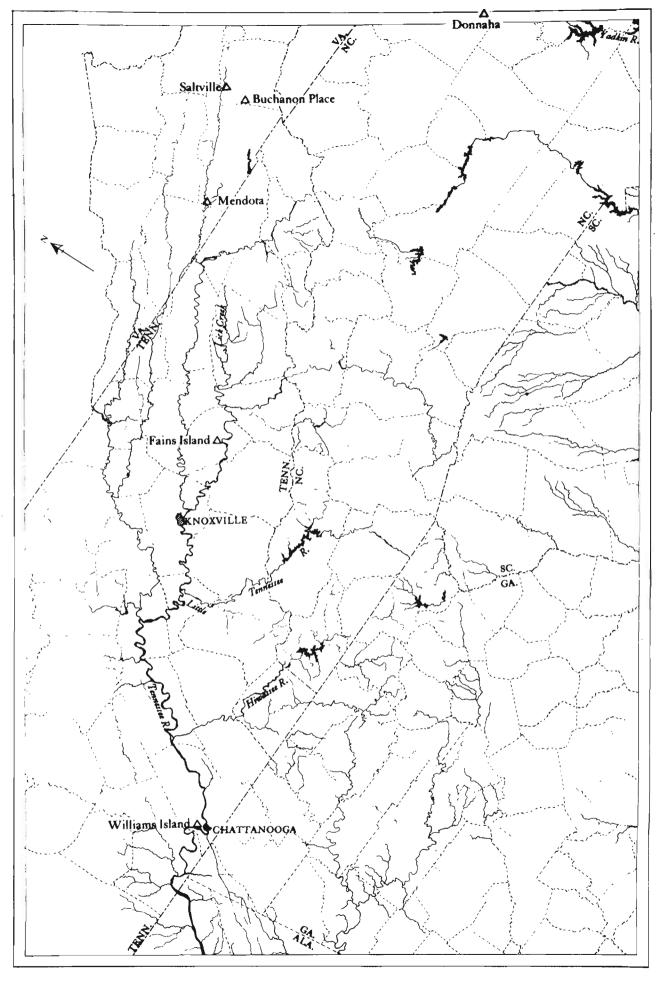
7.1 The Saltville style is more limited in distribution the other two styles sharing the rattlesnake theme (see Map 3). Only ten or eleven specimens are known, so that a detailed treatment of the style is difficult. Moorehead (1900:143) illustrated one specimen in this style from Williams Island in Hamilton County, Tennessee (Tenn-Hm-W2). Unfortunately, no information is available about the relationship of this find to other style complexes present at this site. An enigmatic specimen from Fains Island, Jefferson County, Tennessee, may be in this style (Tenn-Je-FI11), but this specimen is so eroded that little can be said about it. The only site with more than two specimens clearly in the style is the Saltville site in Smyth County, Virginia, after which I have named this style (Va-Sm-S2, 3, 4, 5). A specimen catalogued here as being from the Buchanon Place in Smyth County (Va-Sm-B6) may also be from the Saltville site. One rather more elaborate specimen was found near Mendota in Washington County, Virginia, (Va-Ws-M2). In addition, a specimen which showed re-working by the cutting down of the gorget (Va-Sm-M1) was reported to come from another site near Saltville. Finally, two specimens from the Donnaha site on the Yadkin River due west of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, are illustrated in Rights (1947: plate 104). A personal communication from Joffre Coe of June 3, 1966, indicates that he considers this last site to date from the latter half of the 17th century and to be characteristic of the culture of the Piedmont Siouan tribes.

The subject matter utilized in this style is essentially the rattlesnake theme, but one specimen (NC-Fo-D2) is modified to a



## Map 3. Saltville

SCALE SETTO

circle and cross-like pattern. Two other cross-like gorgets were also found at this site (NC-Fo-D3, 4), but these are of fairly simple types which appear to have no direct stylistic connection with the style (it is difficult to judge the nature of NC-Fo-D3, however, because of the loss of detail in the plate in Rights' book). The size of Saltville gorgets is usually three to four inches in diameter. It is probable that engraved lines were filled with pigment although the evidence for this is slight.

7.2 The technical structure of the Saltville style is less complex than those of the other styles analyzed here, but some of the same problems arise. The first step in the construction of a Saltville style gorget is the layout of the external design field border. Unlike either the Lick Creek or Citico border, only a single line is used for this purpose. It is perhaps possible that the concentric eye pattern was placed first, but this is less "elegant". The single line border follows the curve of the gorget blank and is spaced about half an inch in from the edge of the gorget. After the placement of this main border line, four cross arms formed by chords on the main border could be placed. On many specimens, this feature is omitted, however. Drilled pits or short lines decorate the cross arms in some cases. These cross arms do not show the preciseness of **positioning** which is typical in the Lick Creek style.

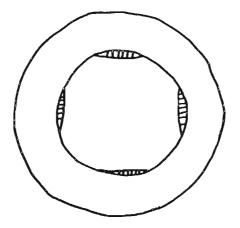


Figure 23.

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Although the concentric circle "eye" may have been placed after the internal border, it is probably easier to consider the eye as the next step. The eye is centered in the design field - a substantial difference in organization from the other two styles. After the placement of the eye, since it has been treated as first, would come the inner body border. This is a U-shaped line which begins at the outer border on the left and roughly parallels the outer border line and the chord lines which form the cross arms. As in the Lick Creek style, sides may be reversed. The width of the body is kept relatively constant despite the room taken up by the cross arms. The inner body line may extend around the gorget to intersect the outer border or may cease beneath the eye unit (see figure 24).

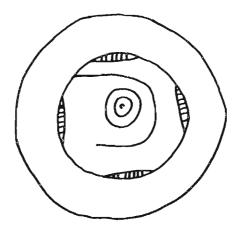


Figure 24.

The next steps are the completion of the head and body.

The eye may be bordered by lines connecting the eye to the outer border (as in figure 25) or by a kind of single line border for the head (Va-Sm-S5). When the eye is so treated, the border also contributes to the formation of the mouth. In most cases, the border is absent and only paired diagonal lines connect the eye to the outer border (the diagonal lines within the border in figure 26 are similar to these).

The body treatment consists of a series of chevrons (with the apex of each chevron <u>toward</u> the tail) at the top left and three cross-hatched areas separated by blank spaces. There appears to have been an effort to align the cross-hatched areas in some fashion with the cross arms, but strict alignment was not possible without destroying the spacing and balance of the decoration. Thus, these cross-hatched areas are usually shifted off center away from the chevrons. Additional chevrons may be used at the other end of the body, apparently for balance of design.

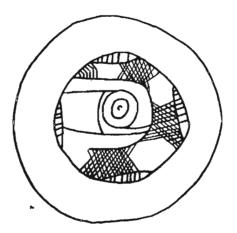


Figure 25.

Two pairs of diagonal parallel lines may connect the eye to the outer border or serve as decoration within the head borders where these latter were used. The interior of each parallel line unit may be plain or be decorated with short lines (as in figure 26). Drilled pits are used as decoration outside of the diagonal eye-border lines in Va-Sm-S4. On specimens from the Donnaha site (NC-Fo-D1), the only further treatment was the execution of lines parallel to the inner body border surrounding the eye. On specimens with a line border for the head, the lower line provides part of the lower part of the mouth. The mouth is formed in such cases by two sets of parallel lines (see figure 26) or by a single line (Va-Sm-S5). Other gorgets have three parallel or slightly divergent lines at an angle to the horizontal axis which intersect the eye and inner border to define the mouth (see Va-Sm-M1). Short lines at approximately right angles to the mouth border lines are used for "teeth".

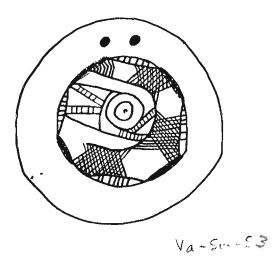


Figure 26.

After the above treatments there is the option of excision along the outer border line between the cross arms. Generally, this is only a slight broadening of the outer border line. On Va-Sm-S4 there is also a small excised space above the mouth which appears to be analogous to the cut-out area above the mouth on Lick Creek gorgets. In some cases, a somewhat broader excised line may divide the mouth area and the short lines which form the teeth. The specimen from the Mendota site (Va-Ws-M2) differs from the above in having two oval eye units with a cross-hatched area substituted for the mouth and a more elaborate treatment of the body. Finally, two holes for suspension of the gorget were drilled at the top of the gorget. NC-Fo-D1 differs in the placement of these holes at the end of the diagonal lines back of the eye. The suspension holes are not, however, part of the design proper.

7.3 Despite the use of the cross arms in two cases, the Saltville surface structure generally does not show the four-part division of field characteristic of the Lick Creek style. Only in one case (NC-Fo-D 2) is a clear four-part division present. Rather, the appearance is that of repetition of the cross-hatched design in the same way as the filler designs on the Lick Creek style gorgets. The placement of the eye in the center of the gorget contributes substantially to the "different" appearance of this style. Furthermore, while there are some real complexities possible within the style, the general structure is much simpler. For example, the lack of a double-line main border and the use, instead, of an excised, rather than cut-out, single-line border is a rather different and somewhat simpler solution to the problem of defining the total design field.

The basic organization of the Saltville style is that of a crescent-like body unit surrounding the eye, mouth, and "neck". There is no indication of the spiral appearance characteristic of the Lick Creek and Citico styles. The design areas of the Saltville style are the total field defined by the main border, the U-shaped area defined by the inner border, the body, the eye, the mouth, and the area to the left of the eye in which a kind of "neck" pattern is used.

7.4 The following statement of the Saltville structure and form is less complete than those for the other styles analyzed. As such, it represents a core around which to build. Of course, the same is true of the other descriptions as well, but the other style analyses come much closer to achieving observational and descriptive adequacy.

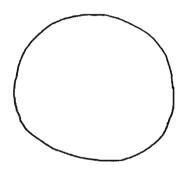
|   | R=rattlesnake             |
|---|---------------------------|
| $R \rightarrow bor(ca)E + 1(b)N + B + M(ex)$ $E \rightarrow (cir)cir + cir + p$ | bor=border                |
|   | ca=cross arms             |
|   | E=eye                     |
|   | l=inner border line       |
|   | b=head border lines       |
|   | N=neck connectors         |
|   | B=body decoration         |
|   | M=mouth                   |
|   | ex=excision               |
|   | cir=circle                |
|   | p=drilled pit             |
| $N \rightarrow d + d(e)$  | d=diagonal parallel lines |
|   | e=elaboration             |
| B -→ T + + x + + x + + x +#   | T=tail                    |
|   | x=cross-hatched area      |
|   | =space                    |
| $T \rightarrow (c)(c)(c)c + c + c + c$  | c="reversed" chevron      |
| $M \rightarrow m + t$   | m=mouth lines             |
|   | t=teeth                   |
|   |                           |

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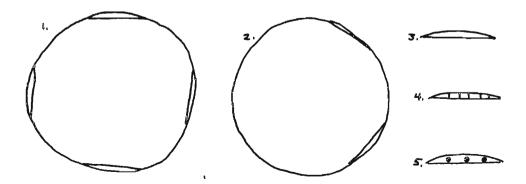
Because of the small number of specimens, I hesitate to write transformational rules which can be used to create variants of the above statement. There is far too much chance that such variants can be included within a more general structural statement to make a feasible undertaking of the writing of the great number of transformations which would be necessary.

## Partial Form Listing

1. bor: in all contexts - a single line border outlining the design field.



 ca: in all contexts - a chord on the main border. This may be repeated four times on the gorget or only twice (2). Variants exist (3-5).



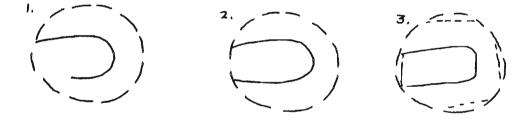
3. cir: in all contexts - one of a set of concentric circles in the center of the gorget.



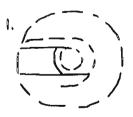
4. p: ... cir + p - a drilled pit in the center of the eye unit.

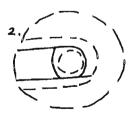


5. 1: p+1 - a U-shaped line acting as an inner border.

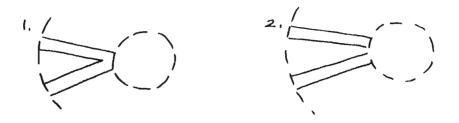


6. b: in all contexts - a set of lines bordering the eye unit.





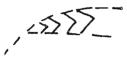
 7. d: d + d - two parallel lines at a diagonal to the horizontal axis. Two of these units are used to connect the eye unit to the outer border.



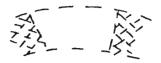
8. e: d + d + e - elaborations upon the forms of listing 7. This may consist of small line units within the d (1) or in drilled pits (2 and 3).



9. c: in all contexts - a chevron unit within the tail. This unit may be repeated four to seven times.

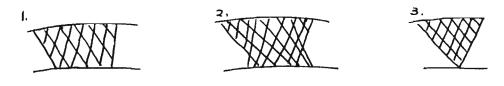


10. --:- in all contexts - the space with no decoration between two cross-hatched areas.



11. x: in all contexts - a cross-hatched area. Three forms of bordering

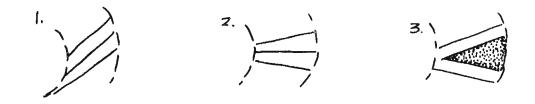
are possible. Number 3 is a variant of number 1 at the Donnaha site.



 m: b + . . . + m - the mouth border when a head border has been used. Here, the head border also defines part of the mouth.



13. m: elsewhere - three lines defining the mouth. The center "line" may be an excised area (3).



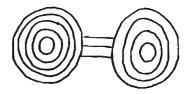
14. t: in all contexts - short lines perpendicular to the mouth lines. Rarely, these lines may be omitted, that is,  $t \Rightarrow \emptyset$ .



On the specimen from the Mendota site (Va-Ms-M2),

there are a number of modifications of the above rules:

3a. cir - doubled; two eye circle units are used with a connector.

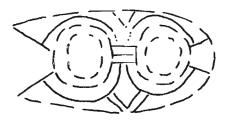


5. Variant 2 is used for the inner border line.

7a. d - cross-hatched connector on each side of the eye units.



6a. b - curved lines and filler units used as an eye border. In this case, listing 6 follows listing 7.



## 9. c **⇒**Ø

10. +--+ - a filler used here instead of a blank space.



The cross-like treatment of one specimen from the Donnaha site (NC-Fo-D2) is generated by the application of the rewrite rules at the beginning of this section with the omission of many rules for the inner border and mouth and the addition of a cross-hatched body unit in place of the neck area.

7.5 The Saltville style gives the impression of some kind of relationship to Lick Creek. The use of the cross arms, the small number of eye circles, and the mouth and diagonal neck treatment somewhat like that on the small Lick Creek gorgets, all call to mind some of the features of the Lick Creek style. As can be seen, these resemblances on the formal level are not echoed in the structure. In fact, the structure of the Saltville style appears to result from the attempt to achieve the same surface structure through different means and without the same understanding of the structural and formal relationships. I find it difficult to avoid the speculation that the Saltville style is the result of the introduction of Lick Creek gorgets into this area and the subsequent rise of a separate style based on the same theme. As mentioned above, this appears to be a similar situation to the derivation of the styles of Gaulish coins from Macedonian coins.

Other alternatives exist, of course. It is possible that the style may have arisen through gradual change within a society or societies possessing the Lick Creek style. Nonetheless, if such were the case, it would seem that there would be greater continuity in both form and structure than is the case. No apparent resemblances to the Citico style are present.

In the absence of good data on association and stratigraphy, archaeology contributes little to the solution of these problems of relationship. Although three Lick Creek style gorgets were found at the Saltville site, there is no way to tell whether these occur in the same occupation and time level. The same is true of the Saltville style finds at other sites where other styles are represented. On the basis of the stylistic evidence alone, then, the following figure presents heuristically what I feel to be the most reasonable and economical explanation of the interrelationships of the three styles.

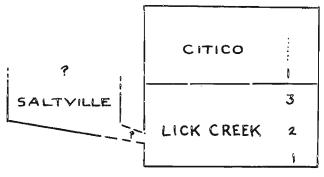


Figure 27.

In light of the small number of gorgets in the Saltville style, a division into subgroups would be premature. Yet, such groupings are suggested by variations in the treatment of head and body at the Mendota site (Va-Ws-M2), the Donnaha site (NC-Fo-D1, 2) and variations in form and structure at other sites.

Before preceding to the next section, mention should be made of one unique specimen from Buchanon Place (Va-Sm-B2). This gorget shows many formal resemblances to the Saltville style and somewhat less to the Lick Creek style; but the rattlesnake is treated much more naturalistically, albeit rather crudely, than on any other gorget. The main interest of the specimen is that it shows that either copying of the theme by artisans unacquainted with the styles occurred or that radical alterations were possible. The crudeness of the specimen suggests the former possibility.

7.6 Now that the three styles and their tentative interrelationships have been discussed, it is necessary to append a few words on the question of social inferences. Ethnographic identifications are, of course, very difficult. Citico style gorgets have been found associated with European trade material at several locations including Nelson Triangle in Caldwell County, North Carolina, where iron tools were found in a grave lot with Citico style gorgets (and possibly one Lick Creek gorget). At other sites, historic materials such as iron belt buckles and silver and brass (Thompson site, Gordon County, Georgia, and Tupelo site, Lee County, Mississippi) have occurred in indirect association. Except for one doubtful case, European goods have not been found with Lick Creek or Saltville gorgets.

The archaeological context of these styles is obscure. In the southern part of the area of the Citico and Lick Creek styles, the cultural association is usually described as "Lamar". Farther north,

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much the same complex, at least in Citico times, is called part of the "Dallas" culture (Lewis and Kneberg 1941:15). There is no question that, whatever it is called, these cultures are later than the Wilbanks and "middle" Dallas occupations in the area.

At least some parts of Lamar culture in the area are prehistoric Cherokee. The main distribution of the Citico style is also virtually the same as the territory occupied by the Cherokee. Despite the tempting situation thus presented, it would be misleading to identify this style necessarily with only the Cherokee or all of the Cherokee. The Lick Creek style is even more difficult to assign an ethnographic group since we know so little of the conditions in the area prior ro European intrusion. As suggested above, however, the continuities in style do hint that closely related social groups were involved in the two styles perhaps even the same groups at different points in time. However, the Cherokee, like many other Southeastern Indian groups, are not a simple, homogeneous cultural unit. It has even been suggested that prior to 1730 there were relatively few mechanisms for intervillage integration (Gearing 1962:83).

The analysis of the Lick Creek and Citico styles may eventually aid in answering some of the questions of interrelationship in Cherokee and other groups prior to A.D.1730. Certainly some kind of close contact over a wide area was necessary to maintain the Lick Creek and Citico styles. Despite the fact that with increasingly detailed analysis local groupings of these styles may become more apparent, it is clear that gorgets found in western Virginia and in Georgia, for example, are equally "correct" in terms of the style structure and form. Although trade of items undoubtably blurs some local traditions from our point of view as archaeologists, trade alone does not appear a reasonable explanation to me for the occurrence of these gorgets over the entire area. The alternative, then, is some kind of social integration over the region, at least among the artisans, by the early 17th century, if not earlier. The very existence of the styles indicates sharing of beliefs of some kind.

The Saltville style is more difficult to assess. The only site at which the archaeological context is clear is Donnaha in North Carolina. As already mentioned, Coe considers this site to be Piedmont Siouan of the late 17th century (personal communication, June 3, 1966).